

# WHAT THE JOURNAL'S SPECIAL WRITERS SAY OF THE SITUATION.

## INGALLS'S FLING AT PLATT.

He Is Sarcastic About Our "Easy Boss" and Complimentary to Teller.

By JOHN JAMES INGALLS.

St. Louis, Mo., June 14.—Political issues, like poets, are born and not made. They grow, and cannot be manufactured to order. The great political leader is not the paltry and sordid boss who packs primaries and controls delegates, and threatens to bolt conventions unless he can have his selfish way, but the man who discerns the wishes and purposes of the people, and co-operates with them. This was the secret of Lincoln's consummate power. He discovered the thought of the people and gave it expression. He found out what the people wanted done and did it. He sometimes seemed dilatory, but it was because he waited to ascertain the convictions of the people. He listened, took counsel and received suggestions, and then acted. He was a leader because he followed public opinion.

The managers here have at last begun to realize that the effort to conduct this campaign upon a ready-made platform, with the tariff as the principal plank, will be futile. Protection will be the policy of the nation for an indefinite period. So far, at least, as the Republicans are concerned, free trade is no more an issue than slavery or State sovereignty. The election of McKinley and a Republican Congress, every one knows, means a tariff both for revenue and protection, but what does it mean on the money question?

The hope that this inquiry might be subordinated, or suppressed, or tangled up with the tariff has disappeared. Evidently our financial system will be the vital and engrossing topic of debate from this time forth, and the declaration of the Convention is of supreme importance. Both parties have juggled and equivocated in the past. Promises made to the ear have been broken to the hope. It has been like a desperate cause in court, in which motions for continuance, change of venue, and to take testimony in distant lands have been filed in order to avoid trial.

The people appear to be in earnest at last. They have been thinking. They have had abundant leisure for meditation since 1892. The advocates of gold, of silver and of bimetalism are arrayed in line of battle, and if the Republicans do not present the issues on the quarrel, some other party will. The supporters of the single gold standard, if they ever have the power, will retire the greenbacks and destroy the legal tender quality of the silver dollar, thus contracting our circulating medium more than a thousand millions of dollars.

The silver advocates would open our mints to the world for the coinage of that metal upon the same terms with gold as those established before 1873.

The bimetalists believe in the use of silver with full legal tender powers to the largest extent compatible with equality with gold, and legal tender paper redeemable in gold.

All want "sound money." The assumption that any rational man wants anything else is an insolent imputation upon patriotism and common sense. Any dollar, whether of gold, silver or paper, that will pay one hundred cents worth of debt is a sound dollar. No one desires counterfeit money, or clipped coin, or debased currency.

In 1878, when the Bland-Allison bill for the recoinage of the silver dollar was passed over the veto of President Hayes, there was the same impudent outcry as now. The supporters of the measure were denounced as enemies of the public credit, and pilloried in the metropolitan press as madmen, knaves or fools. It was said that seventy-five millions of silver might possibly be maintained at par, but more than this would result in individual ruin, the expulsion of gold, silver monometallism and national bankruptcy.

Instead of seventy-five millions, under that act and the act of 1890, more than six hundred millions were added to the circulating medium in silver coin and silver certificates, and none of the prophecies of evil came to pass. On the contrary, the period from 1878 to 1892 under protection and bimetalism was marked by constant and unprecedented prosperity. The last message of President Harrison dwelt largely upon the resources and development of the country, and disclosed a condition that has had few parallels in the history of civilization.

The disasters of the past four years are too fresh in memory to require rehearsal. Such irreparable ruin in so short a space never before fell upon any people. And the downward tendency has not yet been arrested. We have not touched bottom. Times have never been so hard as now, nor money in circulation so scarce, nor prices so low, nor business so precarious, nor incomes so uncertain, nor the future so doubtful. The people who have suffered so much believe that this blast and detriment is largely due to inadequate protection and to the contraction of the currency. They may be right or they may be wrong, but they are sincere.

Teller, of Colorado, the acknowledged apostle, leader and representative of the silver crusade is here. His attitude is a matter of interest and importance. He is intense in his convictions, courageous and sincere. He is neither a crank nor a freak, nor a bore. His high character and admitted qualifications make him a force to be reckoned with. He has the undivided confidence and approbation of his constituents. Whatever path he may take they will unquestionably follow him. It has been said that unless the declaration was for free and unlimited coinage he would leave the convention and renounce his allegiance. He has been a Republican since the party was born, and his defection would have serious significance. To me it is hardly credible, but he has much of the Cromwell spirit and may be implacable.

## COULD HE BE ELECTED?

A. H. Lewis Quotes Some Gloomy Prophecies of McKinley Doubters.

By ALFRED HENRY LEWIS.

St. Louis, Mo., June 14.—Babcock, of Wisconsin, is a well-spring of political wisdom. He is an ex-Congressman and had recent charge as chairman of what is known as the directory of the office-getting of the National Republican Congressional Committee. All these latter things are said to show that Babcock's cage is so hung that he can see things as he sits on his perch and that when he chooses to speak it is not the mere utterance of a dreamer.

It was only a moment ago that I met Babcock at the Planters' House. He is a determined gold man and would know the near platform future as well as any man on this subject of finance.

"It will be a single gold standard platform," quoth Babcock, "and since they begin to split hairs over words the word 'gold' is to have definite use in the plank. Somewhere in the plank when it is given to the world as part of the platform you will find this sentence in these very words: 'We declare for the existing gold standard,' and it will be followed by a denunciation of all proposals of free silver at 16 to 1, or any other ratio, that there will be no going about its meaning and a fool may read as he runs."

Allowing such convention facts as the contest results and such convention things as Hanna of the red and hurried face, with all their effects, and all their plots, for the nonce, go drifting; and dealing only with sentiment in its broader phases, it may be said that the thousands of Republican men, whether delegates or manipulators, who just now assemble for this week's convention, neither look nor feel like winners. Race horse folk will better appreciate the word, perhaps, than those of staid blood, who wot nothing of pneumatic tires and never saw a kite-shaped track.

These people go about with a half-sullen, half-fearful air and as ones on whom no hope shone of the future. I asked several—they were men high in party place and of upper convention councils.

It is remarkable as a fact that not one, so far as my questioning goes, looks forward to electing McKinley. They would not be quoted for reasons plain to all. But on the gloomy side they did not hesitate in face of direct query to express a belief that McKinley could not succeed.

This black and blue condition of Republican anticipation is all the more remarkable as being the growth of the last three months. Ninety days ago not one of these doubted the coming of sweeping victory in November.

As one digs for reasons of all this unhope, one finds that the main fears of these people base themselves on the sudden tide of free silver, which seems flowing in.

"It would not surprise me," said one, "if this silver lunacy carried away such States as Indiana and Illinois. The West and South, without dissent, appear to be going silverward. I see scant sunshine ahead for McKinley."

Aside from any deduction of disaster to McKinley from free silver and its forces, these statesmen believe the Democracy will win New York. They look to see it brought about as the composite effect of the Raines law, the Greater New York law, which latter is expected to turn many a Republican Brooklynite from the errors of his ways, the mal-results of a Puritan "reform" in New York City and last, but not least, of Platt.

This latter plot of party makes no secret of his wrath against Hanna. Should the latter Boss succeed in landing his man it will mean a new dynasty in Republicanism and the party banishment of Platt and Quay. While Platt cannot take the open field of actual rebellion without the excuse of a silver declaration, which he will not get, it is argued that, as this is a fight for his political life, he will privately, but no less pressingly, do all he may to woo and win a McKinley defeat in New York. That he has the sinister power to do much in this direction is believed, and discussionists, when tossing the possibility about, point backward to the day when Platt and Conkling did for Folger what now it is apprehended Platt will do for McKinley.

From all this argument and all this sombre setting forth the most buoyant Republican in attendance lives with a horror tugging at his heart that McKinley, instead of being the advance agent of prosperity and protection, is the courier of party overthrow and broad-spread Republican defeat.

While, however, these beliefs are entertained they go only to the defeat of McKinley; they do not extend themselves to victory for any one else. Planned on that point, they say they look forward to no election at all by the Electoral College.

"The next President is to be elected by the House of Representatives," say these prophets of politics, something which, by the way, did last occur just sixty years ago, when John Quincy Adams defeated Andrew Jackson.

All this may be true when one surveys the splintered, cracked conditions of parties all about. The hooks may hang full of meat to be butchered when Congress convenes in December.

## HALSTEAD PREDICTS THE DAY.

Says McKinley Will Be Nominated on Wednesday and Adjournment Thursday.

By MURAT HALSTEAD.

St. Louis, Mo., June 14.—While the convention is absolutely all for McKinley, and the fact is not disputed except by the irrational, the impression grows that there is so much serious work to do that the sessions may occupy several days. The Presidential nomination can hardly take place on the first day, because there is no disposition of those having the power to be hurried in its exercise. If there are any susceptibilities to soothe, the element of time is of recognized usefulness. The nomination of McKinley will probably take place Wednesday afternoon, and I should think of the Vice-President on the following day, the final adjournment occurring Thursday evening.

The most curious development here is the gold sentiment from the South, and the most interesting part of it is that it is led by the colored delegates. It is no joke that the discussion of the gold question in Kentucky has convinced the colored people that silver is not "sound money." They do not seem to understand in a satisfactory degree to themselves that there is a sure thing of fifty cents' worth of silver passing for a dollar, and they want gold or paper. This is so positively playing into the hands of the gold monometallists of the Northeast that the accusation is current that Southern Republicans have had promptings from the bank parlors of what there is a disposition to call the extreme gold States.

Senator Foraker is evidently to be a great figure in the convention. It is not officially declared at the hour of this writing that he is to be the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, but that is the general anticipation. He had the responsibility of that position at Minneapolis and does not covet it now, but it is important to be either sought or declined. He is working in perfect harmony with Mark Hanna, and General Grosvenor, Judge Thompson, and others who are very near McKinley, and he is extremely disinclined to take extreme views, and giving the most careful consideration already to a multitude of forms of expression of the various questions that arise from the close relations between protection and reciprocity, good times, with a full Treasury, and the soundness of money, along with the preservation of established standard of value and stability of currency.

I am not sure how considerable an indication it may be that the St. Louis Star of today, a journal that is intensely friendly to McKinley, has a leader on "Tying McKinley's Hands," beginning with the statement: "A determined effort is to be made by Platt, Depew, Quay and Lodge to compel the convention to adopt a platform that will vociferously commit the party to gold monometallism. Placed against this halfhearted and extreme is the Free Silver party of the West, representing the other extreme." The article goes on to say that "these two groups" are more concerned about platform than about the election, and that "they disregard the effect upon the standard bearer," while the moderate wing of the party, embracing a majority of the delegates, does not propose to be taken into either camp.

It is added that this majority favors "a temperate, reasonable plank, that will satisfy all but the free silver cranks on the one hand and the gold monometallists on the other." The Star goes on that it opposes "The Platt scheme of tying McKinley's hands by an utterance that will needlessly antagonize the large body of voters who advocate an enlarged use of silver," and then defines its own position as "believing in the employment of every silver dollar that can safely find a place in our currency, and is maintained at a par value with a dollar in gold." The conclusion of this article is of very strong expression of confidence in the result of the election, and a denunciation of the "Platt's threat of Republican disaster in New York and other Eastern States unless the convention pronounces unequivocally for a gold standard." The spirit and expression of the article is applauded by those who are unquestionably influential supporters of McKinley and in close sympathy with him, and I regard it as of no little significance.

It is not believed that Mr. Platt has either the disposition or the power to a bolt from his State, and it will be logical for him and inconsistent with his career to do so, even if he should be given just provocation, for the source of strength behind his organizing talent has constantly been the straightness of his Republicanism, and it has been constantly pointed out that whatever else happened he took his medicine without repining. However there are several persons indicating a vehement desire to club Mr. Platt, and perhaps it would be just as well not to have that ceremony performed. Mark Hanna says in his sententious way that it is too late before the nomination to carry on a campaign of education and we would rather trust the army now in the field than an organization of raw recruits, however patriotic their sentiments.

The continued backwardness of Speaker Reed to give his consent to taking the second place on the ticket is believed by many who are very friendly toward him, but not authorized to speak for him, to be largely influenced by a resolution that, barring the Presidency, he has not further use for public life, and contemplates entering into business arrangements and devoting his great talents to his personal affairs.

### PROCTOR'S GOLD BELIEF.

St. Louis, June 14.  
To W. R. Hearst, the Journal, New York:

We have no money plank formulated, of course, but I believe the platform will be strong and sound on the financial question. The disposition is growing stronger all the time to secure good "sound money."

SENATOR REDFIELD PROCTOR,  
Member National Committee from Vermont.

### STANDARD MUST BE GOLD.

St. Louis, June 14.  
To W. R. Hearst, the Journal, New York:

Massachusetts demands that we tell the truth in our platform. We demand the preservation of the existing gold standard of value. Our circulating medium may be gold, silver, paper or checks, but the standard of value to-day is, and has been, gold. Bimetalism can never be obtained by our assumption alone of the silver burdens of the world. An attempt to cloak or evade the real issue, even on the ground of expediency, is worse than foolish.

CURTIS GUILD, JR.,  
Delegate-at-Large from Massachusetts.

### FOR A GOLD STANDARD.

St. Louis, June 14.  
To W. R. Hearst, the Journal, New York:

There ought not to be any doubt as to the platform of this convention. It will be for the gold standard. I know there is some discussion and some disagreement as to the use of the term "gold," but I do not deem that essential. If that one word offends a single one of our brothers, why, let us leave it out. As a New Yorker, I would be gratified to have a positive declaration for gold, but we can make a platform that will be distinct enough for sound money, without offending any of our friends. I am just as certain as I can be of any future event that we will make a gold standard platform. We can accomplish that by declaring for the existing standard, which everybody knows is the single gold standard. ANRON G. MCCOOK,  
Delegate from New York.

### FOR GOLD AND SILVER.

St. Louis, June 14.  
To W. R. Hearst, the Journal, New York:

The financial plank will probably declare for the "existing standard." The object of so declaring is to permit the voter to determine what that standard is. The platform managers, however, know that it is the gold standard. We who believe in the use of both gold and silver as standard money have abandoned hope that the two metals are to be recognized on equal terms. I favor prohibitive duties upon the wines, liquors and other luxuries imported from foreign countries until those countries consent to agree upon bimetalism.

SENATOR HENRY C. HANSBROUGH,  
Member National Committee from North Dakota.

### CONCISE MONEY PLANK.

St. Louis, June 14.  
To W. R. Hearst, the Journal, New York:

The convention will adopt a platform composed of three principal planks: A reaffirmation of the principles of protection, reciprocity and "sound money." As the delegates gather and as the time draws near for the Convention to assemble, it becomes more and more certain that we are to have a clear and concise statement on the money question, and, while not in any sense trying to foreshadow the action of the Committee on Resolutions, everything points to a clear-cut statement in favor of an adherence to the gold standard as against the free coinage of silver, until the same can be brought about by an international conference by the great commercial nations of the world.

W. R. MERRIAM,  
Ex-Governor of Minnesota.

### WANTS NO MORE SILVER.

To W. R. Hearst, the Journal, New York:  
I am for "sound money." At present

I would not use more silver than we have in circulation. If we could restore the protective system the balance of trade would then be in our favor and all discontent on the money question would disappear. We could then coin bricks and make them go for good money. G. E. BOWDEN,  
Delegate from Second Virginia District.

## FORAKER AGAINST FREE SILVER.

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THOS. T. ECKERT, President and General Manager.

NUMBER 417 SENT BY 8:12 REC'D BY 10:12

St. Louis, Mo., June 14.

To W. R. Hearst, The Journal, New York:

I believe the National Convention will declare against the free coinage of silver in any ratio.

It will, besides, emphatically express itself as being in favor of the maintenance of the standard. I am at this time unable to say whether the money plank will have the word "gold" inserted in it or not.

JOSEPH B. FORAKER,

Delegate at Large from Ohio.

## SENATOR LODGE INSISTS UPON GOLD.

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THOS. T. ECKERT, President and General Manager.

NUMBER 217 SENT BY 8:12 REC'D BY 10:12

St. Louis, June 14.

To W. R. Hearst, the Journal, New York:

The money plank will stand for gold. All our money must be as good as gold. There will be no equivocation nor evasion. We insist upon the gold standard. We will make a plank declaring for money on the gold standard. And if it is taken out, it will be by the direct vote of the convention.

HENRY CABOT LODGE,

U. S. Senator from Massachusetts.

### MORTON CAN'T BELIEVE IT.

Depew's Alleged Remark About the Governor's Taking Second Place Surprises the Latter.

Rhinbeck, N. Y., June 14.—If Chauncey M. Depew made the remark credited to him concerning the Vice-Presidential nomination, that Governor Morton "would be dejected to get it," the governor will not believe it until he has confirmation from the Doctor himself. And he sincerely believes that such confirmation will not be forthcoming. In fact, it is impossible for him to credit such a statement after the earnest assurance he had given to Depew while the latter was on his way to St. Louis and later in the telegram of yesterday.

The Governor's determination was not a hasty one, and his mind was fully made up as to the course he would pursue even before he expressed himself to Depew. There is every reason to believe that this information was in Thomas Collier's pocket before that time, and that the Sage of Toga went to St. Louis knowing that the Governor was blind and unresponsive to the allurements of the Vice-Presidency. The Governor had long debated the matter, and decided to settle it beyond peradventure on Friday last, which he did when he rode from Poughkeepsie to Ellerslie with Depew. The conference consumed every minute of the run, and the great after-dinner speaker might have brought into play some of his brilliant powers of persuasion. If he did, he made a lamentable failure, for when the Governor stepped from the train at Rhinecliff there was not the slightest possibility of misunderstanding his position.

If Mr. Platt might have had any doubt as to Governor Morton's determination, Mr. Depew did not. Mr. Platt without a doubt heard of it on Tuesday last. On that day Chairman "Charley" Hackett was connected by telephone with Morton's home at Ellerslie. He wanted to know, presumably for Mr. Platt, whether the Governor would consider the Vice-Presidency. Governor Morton instructed his secretary, Colonel Ashley Cole, to send back the answer. If anything, it was even more emphatic than that received by Mr. Depew in St. Louis. It left not the slightest question in doubt. Thus it was, that while there was talk in St. Louis of Platt striking a bargain with Bliss, Brook and the united factions of the "Easy Boss" nothing, but know left for Mr. Depew, who was not to do so in the first paper reports from the Governor. A steady rain fell

attending church in this village, as is his custom, the Governor stayed at home and in his library, that commands a magnificent view of the Hudson, and read the news from the battlefield at St. Louis. He had no leisure other than a few persons connected with the family.

When Mr. Depew's alleged remark was mentioned to the Governor he smiled and looked out upon the river. "Ridiculous!" he said. "I don't believe it." "You rode with Mr. Depew on Friday to give him final instructions, did you not?" was asked.

"I won't say anything at all. My telegram to Mr. Depew is a matter of secrecy," replied the Governor.

### CULLOM SEES M'KINLEY.

Illinois Senator Pays a Friendly Visit to the Man He Says Will Be the Next President.

Canton, Ohio, June 14.—The only event in the life of William McKinley worthy of chronicle to-day was his inability to attend divine worship, owing to the somewhat unexpected visit of a tall, rugged man with chin whiskers, who fairly leaped from the 10:20 a. m. train, and, entering a carriage, dashed away to the McKinley residence. The carriage halted at the gate just as the Major arrived in the conference room, and, as if by magic, opened the front door. "My dear 'Cullom!'" said the Major, smiling.

"My dear Major!" responded the owner of the chin whiskers, and then the two sat back hands, and it became evident to all mankind that whatever differences may have arisen between them because of the Illinois State Convention, they had been thoroughly obliterated.

Senator Cullom, with all the frankness of an ingenué.

"It has no political significance," he said, smiling sweetly. "But, however, I simply happened to be passing through Canton, and I thought I would stop and see a next President. I don't know the man, but I know it's a fact that I have satisfied a long time ago that Major McKinley would receive the nomination, and also that he will run on a 'gold money' platform. My advice from St. Louis is to the effect that the leaders are convinced that any straddle plank would be fatal."

"McKinley will be nominated and elected, and protection and sound money will bring about the happy result. So far as the Vice-Presidency is concerned, Illinois doesn't give a rap. We have no candidates, although we would all like to see Reed on the ticket, and hope he can be induced to accept."

The Senator left for his home at Springfield at 9 o'clock. Major McKinley didn't leave his house during the day. A private wire from St. Louis at his residence kept him informed of the state of affairs in "sound," and an expression of profound respect on his countenance seemed to indicate that the electric current brought only news.

He is making elaborate preparations to celebrate the expected nomination of the five thousand citizens from all over the State, and a salute of 100 guns at Springfield County acquainted with the distinguished.